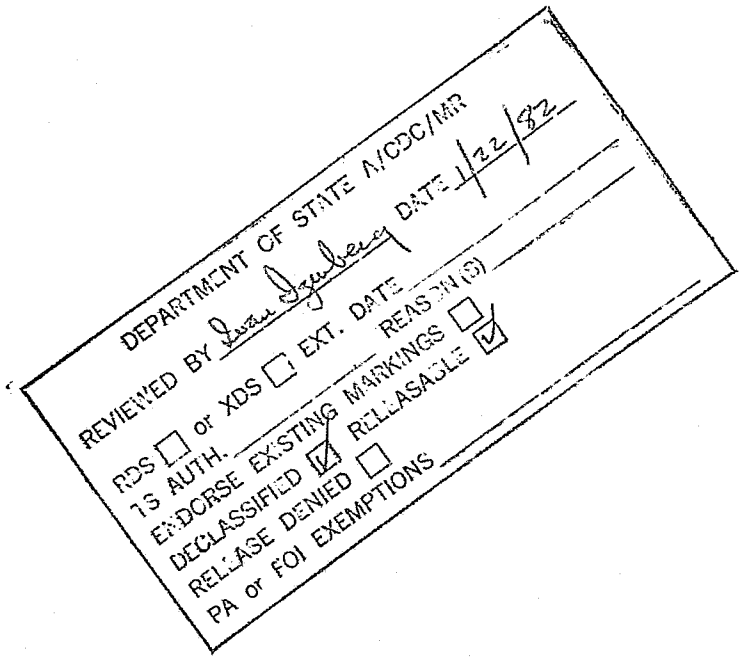
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c) Religious ties seemed to carry most weight with the voters, but the ethnic identities and personalties of the candidates were also influential factors. The slates connected to organized political parties did not win Upper House seats, but some of them fared well in the voting. Had the Dai Viet factions or Nhan Xa factions not been split, either one might have won seats.

d) The fairly good showing of the political parties may lead Vietnam's politicians to conclude that effective political organization is becoming important.

e) As an indicator of pro-Thieu or anti-Thieu feeling, the election was not conclusive and therefore no clear forecast of next year's Presidential election can be made from the results.

END SUMMARY

1. The referenced telegram outlined our preliminary assessment of the outcome of the August 30 election for half of the Upper House membership. This airgram presents a more detailed analysis of the election's results. Attached as enclosures are (1) a table listing the slates that won first, second, and third places in each province, (2) a table breaking down the results for each of the competing sixteen slates by province, and (3) a table showing voter turnout in each province. These figures come mainly from provisional returns published by the Central Election Council shortly after the election. While official returns issued a few days ago differ slightly, the differences are minor and the attached figures can be considered fairly solid. We will forward the official returns soon, with appropriate comments.

2. This election was, by common consent, one of the most honest ever conducted in Vietnam on a national scale. Accordingly, its outcome is a good indication of the relative strengths of the non-Communist political groups in the country. A broad spectrum of groups ran slates. In spite of last-minute allegations of GVN intervention on behalf of the pro-government slates headed by Huynh Van Cao, Truong Vinh Le, and Nguyen Tien Hy, these slates finished approximately where they had been expected to finish. Examples of local manipulation by District Chiefs and others can be found, but as far as we can tell the overall result was not affected by such acts. In the case of one province (Vinh Long), accusations of such manipulation actually held up the announcement of the province's returns for several days, but the case was dismissed by the Central Council for lack of evidence.

The Winners: Mau, Cao, and Huyen

3. The opposition slate led by Vu Van Mau and backed by the An Quang Buddhists edged out the pro-GVN list of incumbent Senator Huynh Van Cao by 41,000 votes to win first place nationwide. Mau received 1,148,073 votes, about 12% of the total ballots cast and about 27% of the total voters. Cao's list got 1,106,980 votes. The third-place winner was the independent list of Upper House Chairman Nguyen Van Huyen, which received 882,817 votes.

4. The Mau List. Mau's list had been expected to do well, but its first-place showing was a mild surprise. Active campaigning by An Quang monks helped to bring about this result. However, it would be an over-simplification to equate Mau's vote with An Quang strength, since other factors, including Mau's personal prestige and the slate's character as a focus for opposition to the GVN, contributed to the high total. But An Quang support certainly played a major role, and the militant Buddhists can rightly be pleased with their role in this first nationwide test of their strength.

5. As expected, Mau's predominant source of support was in I Corps and II Corps, the areas of greatest An Quang strength. His slate won first place in all the I and II Corps autonomous cities, all but one I Corps province, and six of the twelve II Corps provinces. He won all five coastal provinces in II Corps. He captured twice as many votes as his nearest competitor in Danang, nearly three times as many in Hue, and twice as many in populous Binh Dinh Province. Interestingly, in the I and II Corps provinces where this slate did not win first place, with one exception it also failed to capture second and third places, a fact suggesting that its strength was overwhelming where An Quang support was concentrated, but significantly weaker elsewhere in these regions. 1/

6. Mau's support south of I Corps and II Corps was noticeab[illegible]rong, but the slate did not do poorly in these areas. It won third [illegible]igon, coming within 6,000 votes of getting the capital's second-[illegible]Mau's list won first or second place in two III Corps provinces [illegible]rps province, and it reached third place in eight provinces in [illegible]s.

7. The Cao List. The slate headed by retired General Hu[illegible] Cao had been expected to do extremely well in the overall voting with many observers predicting a first-place finish for it. The Catholic hierarchy supported this list and it was considered the leading pro-GVN slate. The fact that it ran s[illegible] was a disappointment to the government, but given the known Buddh[illegible]ort behind Mau, a close race between the two was foreseen.

1/ The Corps areas are now officially known as Military Regions.

8. In I Corps, Cao's list picked up only moderate support. It ran first in Quang Tin Province but was no higher than fourth elsewhere in I Corps. (Cao is reportedly a close friend of the Province Chief in Quang Tin. Votes from the large ARVN contingent in the province may also have helped.). The Cao list did better in II Corps, winning five provinces and getting second or third place in two others. It came in third in Dalat. Cao ran very well in the Montagnard areas, a result that was probably due partly to the presence on the slate of the highland's best-known Montagnard, former FULRO leader, Y Bling Buo. Krong Pang.

9. Saigon and III Corps were somewhat more favorable for Cao than were I and II Corps, but not by much. Cao was able to finish only sixth in the capital. Most of the pro-government votes in Saigon went to the list headed by Truong Vinh Le. In the surrounding III Corps area, however, Cao won four provinces and came in second or third in six others. He finished second in Vung Tau. The Cao Dai population of Tay Ninh Province gave him second place, no doubt because of the presence on Cao's slate of Nguyen Huu Luong, a prominent Cao Dai layman. Cao also finished second in Hau Nghia and Long An Provinces where the Cao Dai are likewise fairly numerous.

10. IV Corps was where the Cao slate hit its stride. It captured first place in eleven of the Delta's sixteen provinces, including the Hoa Hao strongholds of An Giang and Chau Doc, and it came in second in two other provinces. The fact that Le Phuoc Sang, a well-known (and highly opportunistic) leader of the one Hoa Hao faction, was the second candidate on Cao's list probably helped to spell the difference in An Giang and Chau Doc, where Cao had a commanding lead over all competitors. The presence on the slate of Son Thai Nguyen, an ethnic Cambodian, helped Cao in other parts of IV Corps. The Catholics in the region no doubt cast many votes for the five Catholic Senators on the list.

11. The main causes of Cao's success were probably his prominence as the leading pro-government candidate, his skill in balancing the ticket with prominent members of ethnic and religious groups, and his tie to the labor vote through several candidates on his list associated with the CVT-backed Farmer-Worker Party.

12. The Huyen List. The main concentration of strength for Nguyen Van Huyen's independent list was in Saigon, where it got 121,000 votes and finished well ahead of its nearest rival, the pro-government Le slate.

Elsewhere in the country, Huyen's support was scattered and moderate, but he gathered enough votes throughout the country to get third place nationwide. People in all parts of the country respect Huyen personally as perhaps the leading southern Catholic layman. He had the support of the Catholic hierarchy which backed this slate as well as Cao's. The presence on Huyen's ticket of former Prime Minister Tran Van Huong, a Buddhist, also helped the slate a great deal by broadening its appeal. Some observers speculate in fact that Huong may have tipped the balance in Huyen's favor in the race with Le for third place, although others think Huong may have turned Buddhist votes away because of his association with suppression of Buddhist riots when he was Prime Minister.

13. Because of the scattered nature of Huyen's support outside of Saigon, it is difficult to see any regional pattern in his backing. He did well in all the autonomous cities, his fourth-place showing in Hue being his lowest rank in these constituencies. Among the four Corps areas, he did best in III Corps and worst in I Corps, but he did not finish lower than fifth in any Corps-wide tally.

The Thirteen Losers

14. The losing slates in the election represented widely diverse political groups, ranging from dark-horse independents to long-established nationalist parties. Their standings in the voting were as follows:

	SLATE LEADER	NUMBER OF VOTES
4th Place	Truong Vinh Le	798,716
5th "	Nguyen Ngoc Huy	653,603
6th "	Nguyen Van Canh	629,488
7th "	Nguyen Dai Bang	605,933
8th "	Truong Cong Cuu	592,030
9th "	Mrs. Nguyen Phuoc Dai	533,034
10th "	Nguyen Van Lai (Thich Thien Phap)	502,435
11th "	Pham Ba Cam	449,674
12th "	Nguyen Gia Hien	430,631
13th "	Nguyen Tien Hy	419,168
14th "	Nguyen Huu To	398,106
15th "	Nguy Anh Tuan	342,988
16th "	Nguyen Cao Hach	319,225

All but two of these slates won first, second, or third place in one or more provinces. This indicates that nearly all of them have at least a local base of support from which to operate. (The exceptions are the To list, composed mainly of military officers who ran on an unadulterated support-the-government platform which was somewhat skeptically received, and the Tuan list, composed of generally little know intellectuals.) Significant details about the major losing slates follow below.

15. The Le List. The slate led by Truong Vinh Le represented the moderate faction of the predominantly Catholic Nhan Xa Party. A well-financed list with some respectable personalities, victory was a real possibility. The rumored GVN intervention might have tipped the scales in Le's favor had there been a more effective effort. As it turned out, Le finished a respectable fourth, 84,000 votes in back of Huyen. Le's main strength was in Saigon, where he came in second. This result is attributed by some to Cholon support for the ethnic Chinese Luu Quan Dan on the slate. Moderate support scattered elsewhere in the country also helped him, as shown by the fact that he ran third on a Corps-wide basis in all Corps areas except I Corps. However, he won first place in only one province - Binh Long in III Corps.

16. The Huy List. Nguyen Ngoc Huy's list was composed largely of Tan Dai Viets, who are the core of the Progressive Nationalist Movement. Its fifth-place showing in the election was about what observers had expected, although the slate had been given an outside chance of victory. Huy's support showed up predominantly in III and IV Corps, where he won first place in a total of four provinces, including the traditional Tan Dai Viet bastions of Hau Nghia and Long An. IV Corps was particularly strong for Huy, giving him second place Corps-wide. On the surface at least, Huy does not seem to have benefitted from his reported mutual-support arrangement with An Quang.

17. The Canh List. Perhaps the "purest" party ticket in the election, the list headed by Nguyen Van Canh represented the Revolutionary Dai Viet Party. Its good showing nationwide was a surprise, since the RDV had been weakened recently by the defection of Senator Nguyen Van Ngai. The slate's strong showing suggests that Chieu Hoi Minister Ho Van Cham may have found his position helpful for developing the RDV party, of which he is a prominent leader. Canh ran second in I Corps, the traditional RDV stronghold, though considerably behind Mau's overwhelming strength in that region. Canh finished third in Hue. Canh's support south of I Corps was scattered, but by no means insignificant. He captured first place in IV Corps' Kien Tuong Province.

18. The Bang List. The opposition list of Lower House member Nguyen Dai Bang had close connections with the An Quang, but with the bulk of An Quang support going to Mau, its chances were considered poor. However, An Quang did in fact back this list to some extent, and as a result, it finished well in I Corps, Bang's home base. It came in second in Hue and Danang and was third in Quang Ngai and Thua Thien Provinces. Some strength in II Corps was also noticeable.

19. The Cuu List. Truong Cong Cuu, the head of the factionalized Nhan Xa group, led a ticket identified with the Nhan Xa that includes some old-guard Can Lao personalities. The list was well balanced ethnically, regionally, and religiously. As anticipated, it ran fairly well in II Corps. In addition, it did surprisingly well in I Corps, finishing third on a Corps-wide basis. Cuu's support elsewhere was relatively weak, though the presence of Cao Dai personality Ho Duc Trung, a former Tay Ninh Province Chief, probably accounted for the list's first place finish in Tay Ninh.

20. The Dai List. The candidacy of Mrs. Nguyen Phuoc Dai had been watched with interest because of her connections in the Upper House with opposition leader Tran Van Don. Support from Don's National Salvation Front was considered certain, though this group's almost nominal status made its helpfulness doubtful. Some An Quang backing was reportedly received as well. Given the number of opposition slates, Mrs. Dai's ninth-place finish is not surprising. Nowhere did the slate finish in first place. It came in second in Bac Lieu Province and third in Kien Giang Province, both in IV Corps, a result attributable almost solely to the fact that the popular Cambodian monk Danh Bao was the second candidate on the slate.

21. The Lai List. The slate headed by the relatively unknown and unaligned Buddhist monk Nguyen Van Lai (Thich Thien Phap) had been virtually read out of the running during the campaign. By finishing in tenth place, ahead of some more prominent slates, the list surprised nearly everyone. We have not yet heard any fully convincing explanation for this result. One story has it that many voters mistook the slate's bird-of-peace symbol on the ballot to be the similar dove-and-farmer emblem of the Huy list. This could easily have happened in some rural areas. Another possible explanation is that many voters simply found his religious connection attractive. Others may have voted for his emblem as a gesture for peace. Lai won third place in one province - Bac Lieu in IV Corps.

22. The Cam List. The list led by Phan Ba Cam, a respected Hoa Hao politician, had been expected to do respectably in the voting. In 1967, Cam finished seventh, just short of victory. His eleventh-place showing this time was somewhat lower than expected. Cam's slate came in second in four Delta provinces, including the Hoa Hao strongholds of An Giang and Chau Doc. It came in first nowhere.

23. The Hien List. A winner in 1967, Senator Nguyen Gia Hien decided this time to field a slate composed mainly of northerners belonging to his Greater Solidarity Force, counting on disciplined voting by northern Catholics to put the list over the top. With several other strong Catholic lists in the running, however, this bloc's support was dispersed, and Hien came in a disappointing twelfth. His best result was in Kontum Province in II Corps where he finished third and only the presence of Montagnard Pierre Yuk, born in that province, may account for this small achievement.

24. The Hy List. Just before election day, reports were spread that the Presidency wanted GVN officials to promote the election of, among others, the list headed by Minister of State Nguyen Tien Hy. The weakness of most candidates on this list, however, made this intervention seem fruitless, and as most observers predicted, Hy finished very low when the votes were tallied. Coming in thirteenth nationwide, Hy won first place only in Pleiku Province. Montagnard Sui Plung's presence on the list no doubt contributed to this result (Plung is a native of Pleiku and works there) but local manipulation could also have been a factor. Fairly strong support for Hy was also shown in the highland provinces of Darlac and Phu Bon, for which Plung may likewise be at least partly responsible. Hy's only other noteworthy support was a third-place showing in Chuong Thien Province in IV Corps. This province and Darlac were the only constituencies that voted one-two-three for the lists allegedly having government backing.

25. The Hach List. The unsought honor of last place in the voting went to the list of Professor Nguyen Cao Hach. This slate had close connections with the breakaway RDV group of Senator Nguyen Van Ngai, a six-year incumbent in the Upper House. A better showing than sixteenth had been predicted for it. However, apart from getting second place in Quang Tin Province in I Corps, the slate achieved virtually nothing. It probably took some votes away from the RDV-backed Canh list.

Trends Noted in the Results

26. The election has elicited considerable comment among observers here. Its fairness has been noted especially, and for the time being at least, nearly all political elements give the government good marks for conducting an honest election. The voting's fairness, moreover, has caused it to be viewed with particular interest as an indicator of political trends, the most significant of which are outlined below.

27. Pro-Government vs. Anti-Government Vote. By dividing the nationwide vote somewhat arbitrarily into three categories according to what we judge to be the basic pro-government, opposition, or independent slants of the sixteen lists, we get this result:

	SLATES	VOTES
Pro-GVN	Cao	1,106,980
	Le	798,716
	Canh	629,488
	Cuu	592,030
	Hien	430,631
	Hy	419,168
	To	398,106
	Tuan	342,988
		4,718,107
Opposition	Mau	1,148,073
	Bang	605,933
	Dai	533,034
	Cam	449,674
		2,736,714
Independent	Huyen	882,817
	Huy	653,603
	Phap	502,435
	Hach	319,225
		2,358,080

This is hardly a massive anti-GVN vote, even though the Mau list's first-place showing suggests an oppositionist tinge to the outcome. Acutally, the most striking feature of these figures is the support gathered by the independents, who won the backing of a fairly large segment of the public and became a major force themselves. This will be reflected even more vividly in the new Upper House where the independent bloc's strength may reach 26 members, compared to 16 or so for the pro-government bloc and about 16 for the opposition bloc. (These are tentative figures.) We gain the impression that many voters, retaining a traditional aloofness from both the government and its most extreme opposition elements, now see in responsible independents like Huyen the best channel for their allegiance. At the same time, of course, pro-government support among groups like the army and opposition support among Buddhists and others continue to be potent forces. How this all will work itself out in the political process is unpredictable at this stage, especially since the future attitude of the Mau slate in the Upper House is a major question. Some observers believe that by becoming part of "the system," the Mau-list Senators will moderate their opposition moves somewhat. Mau himself is regarded as a responsible man. On the other hand, it is possible that their election victory will whet the appetite of at least some An Quang elements, stimulating them to more extreme postures. Initially, however, we expect a brief honeymoon period, at least until the new Upper House organizes itself and the Mau slate establishes itself there. The independent group of Senators can be expected to serve as a constructive force, at least if its past performance and the calibre of its leadership is an adequate guide. The independents may support government measures more frequently than not.

28. "Peace" Not An Issue. Although a number of slates pushed the "peace" issue in their campaigns, we believe that this question was not decisive with many voters. The desire for an end to the war is of course strongly felt, but it remained an abstraction throughout the campaign. Voters' feelings did not seem to crystallize behind one slate or group of slates on the issue. Although the Mau list stressed a concept called "people's peace," Mau's advocacy of this theme was rather vague and his victory is attributable to other factors. Moreover, the other two victors, Cao and Huyen, are known as strong supporters of President Thieu's peace policy.

29. Religion vs. Ethnic Affiliation vs. Personality vs. Party. Probably the most significant result of this election concerns the relative strengths shown by religious, ethnic, personal, and party loyalties. It is generally agreed that religion carried decisive weight with most voters. The Mau list's support in the Buddhist strongholds of I and II Corps demonstrates this clearly, as does the fact that the two Catholic slates enjoying support from the church hierarchy, Cao's and Huyen's, got enough Catholic votes to be elected. The Catholics, however, dissipated their votes among several lists with Catholic ties, which may have prevented a first-place finish for Cao.

As for the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai, the pull of various candidates belonging to these sects was obvious in the provinces where they form the bulk of the population. But since many slates tried to balance themselves with Hoa Hao and Cao Dai members, only a few could benefit significantly from this factor. As we have noted, the Hoa Hao apparently favored the Cao list's Le Phuoc Sang, who represented the pro-GVN Tuong faction of the Hoa Hao Church. The Cao Dai candidate on the same list, Nguyen Huu Luong, also pulled in many votes. Ho Duc Trung, the Cao Dai who ran with the Cuu slate, probably was what won Tay Ninh Province for Cuu.

30. The ethnic identity of some candidates was definitely powerful among the Montagnards and the Cambodians. Only a few very popular ethnic candidates were able to take advantage of this factor, however, and the limited population comprising these minorities generally made this feature secondary.

31. Personality was also significant as an element in the voting. The attractiveness of respected individuals like Mau, Huyen, Huong, and to a certain extent Cao, probably drew many votes to their slates.

32. As far as party ties are concerned, the results are conflicting. Although not among the winners, lists associated with parties made a strong showing. The Dai Viet slates did surprisingly well, especially those led by Huy and Canh. If the three Dai Viet slates had been united (we include Hach in this grouping), they might well have won Upper House seats. The same can be said for the two Nhan Xa factions. However, one cannot judge the combined strength of these groups by simply adding their separate votes. For one thing, the fact that people could cast one, two, or three ballots makes it impossible to determine from the returns what a voter would have done if confronted with just one party list instead of two or three.

33. The VNQDD was almost a non-performer in this election. For some years now, the fortunes of this old nationalist party have declined, due to the party's inability to adjust to new times. Unlike the Dai Viet factions, who have found some new leadership as conditions have changed, the VNQDD has tended to drift. The badly factionalized party did not present a slate, but various VNQDD faction members were included on several lists, none of which won. Pham Thai, Vice Chairman of the Vu Hong Khanh faction, came closest to getting an Upper House seat as the second candidate on the Le list. Le's second-place finish in Quang Nam Province may be attributable in part to VNQDD support.

34. Good Political Organization Makes a Difference. The good showing made by the slates of organized political parties, particularly Le's Nhan Xa faction, Huy's Progressive Nationalist Movement, and the Revolutionary Dai Viets suggests that the trend may be moving in the direction of political party organization in Vietnam. The country's factionalized politicians, in studying the August 30 returns, may conclude that personalities and religious backing may not be enough in the next major contest. Some politicians have told us they plan to attempt to unite their separated factions. One indication that political parties are acquiring respectability may be taken from the hint by a close associate of traditionally nonpolitical Upper House Chairman Huyen that some movement toward forming a political party-type organization behind Huyen might be undertaken within the coming months. On the other hand, there is evidence that President Thieu has decided that the building of a political base can best be achieved outside the established parties, through such organs as the provincial administrations and councils. The extent to which he will carry such a conclusion is not yet clear. He will probably not bypass the existing parties totally. In any case, the conclusion that good political organization is important, either through a party or some other channel, remains a basic lesson of the election.

35. Result Unclear as a Forecast of Presidential Election. Some people believe that the Upper House election has created a new pole of opposition to President Thieu that will be exploitable in next year's Presidential election, and that Vu Van Mau is now a serious rival of Thieu for the Presidency or might make an attractive running mate for Duong Van Minh. The strength shown by the opposition and independent elements in the election is considerable, but since pro-GVN slates also ran well, these election results are by no means conclusive evidence that the electorate is keeping its distance from the Thieu administration. An aide of President Thieu has told us the Palace will examine the results of the election closely. We think, however, that it would be premature to read too much into these returns as an indicator of the 1971 Presidential election possibilities. The outcome of the Presidential election will depend in large part on what happens in the economy, the government, and the war between now and September of next year and even on the structure of the election itself. President Thieu suggested publicly several months ago that he would like to see a run-off election if no one candidate receives a majority of votes cast the first time around. With this significant indication of Buddhist political strength, President Thieu may wish to pursue the run-off idea, since he might fare better in a one-to-one test than in a multi-candidate race. (In 1967 he received 35% of the vote in an eleven-man race.)

Voter Turnout Modera

36. 65.7% of the ...on's eligible voters went to the polls in this election. The lowest percentage was recorded in Gia Dinh Province, where 49.6% of the eligible voters cast ballots, and the highest percentage was in Phuoc Long Province, which turned out 85.2% of the electorate. This was generally a lower turnout than in the provincial and municipal council elections of last June, a fact that observers have not failed to note. A ce ain amount of apathy on the part of voters, abetted by the lack of active campaigning and the virtually issueless race, largely explains this result. Although the Upper House is a more prominent body than the municipal and provincial councils, it is nevertheless much farther removed from the day-to-day concerns of the people. The fact that this was the latest in a series of elections may have been a factor also, since many voters had become slightly bored with electioneering by August 30.

37. Very few abstentions are attributable to Viet Cong-induced boycotting. The lowest turnouts were generally recorded in secure urban areas, and the insecure provinces often had high turnouts. VC harrassment of the voting had been feared, but it materialized in only a few instances. While an unusual number of shelling attacks occurred the night before the election, these were mainly indiscriminate efforts, dying out by morning.

38. Despite the somewhat low turnout (by Vietnamese standards), we feel that this election attracted enough voters to constitute a successful exercise in representative government. The 66% turnout was based on a relatively uncoerced decision to go to the polls, a respectable showing compared to democratic nations elsewhere.

BUNKER

UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, AUGUST 30, 1970
SECOND & THIRD PLACE WINNERS BY PROVINCE

	1st PLACE		2nd PLACE		3rd PLACE	
CAPITAL: Saigon	Huyen	(121,069)	Le	(94,251)	Mau	(88,291)
AUTONOMOUS CITIES:	Mau	(99,808)	Huyen	(50,012)	Bang	(45,465)
Vung Tau	Huyen	(11,086)	Cao	(8,180)	Mau	(6,496)
Dalat	Mau	(8,148)	Huyen	(6,094)	Cao	(4,581)
Cam Ranh	Mau	(8,783)	Huyen	(6,307)	Cuu	(6,167)
Hue	Mau	(24,541)	Bang	(8,636)	Canh	(7,844)
Danang	Mau	(51,840)	Bang	(25,013)	Huyen	(20,784)
I CORPS:	Mau	(274,019)	Canh	(132,443)	Cuu	(104,561)
Quang Nam	Mau	(59,014)	Le	(24,296)	Canh	(23,205)
Quang Ngai	Mau	(60,303)	Cuu	(34,671)	Bang	(29,468)
Quang Tin	Cao	(45,404)	Hach	(39,137)	Huyen	(32,372)
Quang Tri	Mau	(50,103)	Cuu	(20,723)	Canh	(19,162)
Thua Thien	Mau	(74,442)	Canh	(48,919)	Bang	(22,958)
II CORPS:	Mau	(307,274)	Cao	(207,734)	Le	(171,665)
Binh Dinh	Mau	(105,514)	Cao	(51,070)	Le	(46,838)
Binh Thuan	Mau	(37,759)	Bang	(18,519)	Le	(18,196)
Darlac	Cao	(35,302)	Le	(25,523)	Hy	(16,896)
Khanh Hoa	Mau	(39,760)	Bang	(18,628)	Le	(16,600)
Kontum	Cao	(19,077)	Le	(16,185)	Hien	(13,369)
Lam Dong	Cao	(12,800)	Le	(11,175)	Huyen	(7,206)
Ninh Thuan	Mau	(26,442)	Cuu	(14,683)	Huyen	(10,979)
Quang Duc	Cao	(6,797)	Le	(4,138)	Cuu	(3,746)
Phu Bon	Mau	(7,714)	Hy	(6,747)	Cao	(5,555)
Phu Yen	Mau	(43,039)	Canh	(20,459)	Bang	(15,826)
Pleiku	Hy	(14,003)	Cuu	(13,668)	Mau	(13,115)
Tuyen Duc	Cao	(12,252)	Cuu	(11,524)	Le	(7,776)
III CORPS:	Cao	(231,317)	Huyen	(219,570)	Le	(166,578)
Gia Dinh	Huyen	(89,776)	Cao	(74,158)	Mau	(56,599)
Bien Hoa	Cao	(38,038)	Huyen	(30,461)	Le	(27,423)
Binh Duong	Huyen	(18,755)	Mau	(16,614)	Cao	(13,800)
Binh Long	Le	(7,030)	Cao	(6,328)	Mau	(5,606)
Binh Tuy	Mau	(9,364)	Cao	(8,221)	Le	(8,025)
Hau Nghia	Huy	(16,538)	Cao	(10,869)	Huyen	(10,762)
Long An	Huy	(33,276)	Huyen	(19,849)	Le	(18,590)
Long Khanh	Cao	(16,605)	Huyen	(12,347)	Le	(11,326)
Phuoc Long	Cao	(7,819)	Le	(6,867)	Mau	(4,483)
Phuoc Tuy	Cao	(11,194)	Huyen	(10,822)	Le	(9,476)
Tay Ninh	Cuu	(29,506)	Cao	(27,392)	Huyen	(16,645)
IV CORPS:	Cao	(463,171)	Huy	(262,558)	Le	(257,014)
An Giang	Cao	(60,468)	Cam	(41,722)	Le	(24,634)
An Xuyen	Cao	(17,859)	Le	(17,020)	Canh	(12,590)
Ba Xuyen	Cao	(31,107)	Le	(28,495)	Huyen	(25,345)
Bac Lieu	Mau	(12,752)	Mrs.Dai	(10,879)	Lai	(10,745)
Chau Doc	Cao	(70,840)	Cam	(49,288)	Mau	(15,867)
Chuong Thien	Cao	(16,453)	Le	(14,930)	Hy	(10,224)
Dinh Tuong	Cao	(27,759)	Huyen	(26,750)	Mau	(20,230)
Go Cong	Huyen	(15,104)	Huy	(11,653)	Mau	(11,524)
Kien Giang	Huy	(24,665)	Cao	(20,511)	Mrs.Dai	(17,439)
Kien Hoa	Cao	(27,533)	Huyen	(25,651)	Mau	(24,811)
Kien Phong	Cao	(31,214)	Cam	(26,071)	Le	(17,057)
Kien Tuong	Canh	(2,884)	Cuu	(2,865)	Mau	(2,)
Phong Dinh	Cao	(19,439)	Huyen	(17,420)	Le	(16,)
Sa Dec	Cao	(24,013)	Cam	(21,621)	Le	(19,938)
Vinh Binh	Cao	(28,385)	Canh	(18,181)	Huyen	(17,643)
Vinh Long	Huy	(71,858)	Cao	(67,679)	Huyen	(29,243)
NATIONWIDE	Mau	(1,148,073)	Cao	(1,106,980)	Huyen	(882,817)

UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, AUGUST 30, 1970
RESULTS FOR ALL LISTS BY PROVINCE

	Cao (List 1)	Tuan (List 2)	Huyen (List 3)	Huy (List 4)	Hach (List 5)	Le (List 6)
CAPITAL:						
Saigon	47,717	32,318	121,069	81,226	28,345	94,251
AUTONOMOUS CITIES:	39,684	10,238	50,012	21,664	10,626	23,023
Vung Tau	8,180	2,366	11,086	3,292	1,717	5,506
Dalat	4,581	977	6,094	2,835	870	2,240
Cam Ranh	6,123	1,024	6,307	1,655	2,056	3,857
Hue	3,727	1,262	5,741	2,348	848	2,090
Danang	17,073	4,609	20,784	11,534	5,135	9,330
I CORPS:	96,643	31,351	97,651	55,303	73,991	87,085
Quang Nam	22,747	7,747	17,367	8,759	16,367	24,296
Quang Ngai	23,168	9,512	22,086	26,025	11,154	21,649
Quang Tin	45,404	6,579	32,372	8,497	39,137	18,799
Quang Tri	11,995	3,494	9,689	5,931	2,440	9,291
Thua Thien	14,181	4,019	16,137	6,091	4,893	13,050
II CORPS:	207,734	53,925	145,039	71,652	46,888	171,665
Binh Dinh	51,070	21,458	43,868	27,341	16,198	46,838
Binh Thuan	15,980	4,518	18,104	8,652	4,874	18,196
Darlac	35,302	3,773	13,595	3,898	2,551	25,523
Khanh Hoa	15,210	6,446	15,438	7,599	5,839	16,600
Kontum	19,077	1,770	6,496	3,233	1,725	16,185
Lam Dong	12,800	929	7,206	724	778	11,175
Ninh Thuan	10,156	3,070	10,979	5,046	4,417	5,782
Quang Duc	6,797	683	2,694	609	562	4,138
Phu Bon	5,555	1,555	2,648	1,075	732	2,622
Phu Yen	11,416	4,751	8,828	6,705	4,539	8,078
Pleiku	12,119	3,645	9,629	4,580	3,709	8,752
Tuyen Duc	12,252	1,327	5,554	2,190	964	7,776
III CORPS:	231,317	84,526	219,570	161,851	70,854	166,578
Gia Dinh	74,158	25,516	89,776	51,158	24,033	45,623
Bien Hoa	38,038	9,196	30,461	17,105	7,373	27,423
Binh Duong	13,600	10,209	18,755	12,307	7,323	11,694
Binh Long	6,328	1,964	3,435	2,979	1,632	7,030
Binh Tuy	8,221	783	2,615	3,353	1,266	8,025
Hau Nghia	10,869	6,212	10,762	16,538	5,157	9,806
Long An	17,093	10,845	19,849	33,276	9,180	18,590
Long Khanh	16,605	2,001	12,347	5,652	2,810	11,326
Phuoc Long	7,819	1,845	4,103	1,828	1,407	6,867
Phuoc Tuy	11,194	3,103	10,822	3,885	2,663	9,476
Tay Ninh	27,392	12,852	16,645	13,770	7,510	10,718
IV CORPS:	463,171	131,719	250,202	262,558	88,571	257,014
An Giang	60,468	12,089	16,741	12,050	4,831	24,634
An Xuyen	17,859	3,602	6,136	8,106	2,435	17,020
Ba Xuyen	31,107	9,985	25,345	12,894	6,528	28,495
Bac Lieu	8,742	5,001	9,236	10,711	4,261	9,652
Chau Doc	70,840	9,894	12,059	15,284	5,307	14,621
Chuong Thien	16,453	5,343	8,865	5,846	3,523	14,930
Dinh Tuong	27,759	14,248	26,750	19,716	9,875	19,960
Go Cong	9,053	5,793	15,104	11,653	4,452	11,215
Kien Giang	20,511	6,663	17,153	24,665	5,446	15,364
Kien Hoa	27,533	14,647	25,651	21,755	12,193	22,020
Kien Phong	31,214	6,350	9,256	8,141	4,853	17,057
Kien Tuong	2,116	915	2,366	1,482	1,028	2,450
Phong Dinh	19,439	11,224	17,420	14,317	6,724	16,622
Sa Dec	24,013	6,621	11,231	11,705	4,617	19,938
Vinh Binh	28,385	8,283	17,643	12,375	5,808	10,790
Vinh Long	67,679	11,061	29,243	71,858	6,690	12,246
TOTALS	1,106,980	342,988	882,817	653,708	319,225	798,716

UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, AUGUST 30, 1970
RESULTS FOR ALL LISTS BY PROVINCE

	Cuu (List 7)	Hien (List 8)	Canh (List 9)	Cam (List 10)	Mau (List 11)	To (List 12)
CAPITAL:						
Saigon	31,380	29,150	26,238	30,011	88,291	30,028
AUTONOMOUS CITIES:	28,870	21,599	33,529	12,405	99,808	15,439
Vung Tau	4,344	3,254	3,491	2,036	6,496	3,138
Dalat	2,602	2,231	3,614	1,472	8,148	1,897
Cam Ranh	6,167	2,191	3,271	1,766	8,783	1,916
Hue	4,116	1,543	7,844	1,143	24,541	1,541
Danang	11,641	12,380	15,309	5,988	51,840	6,947
I CORPS:	104,561	44,125	132,443	33,038	274,019	41,345
Quang Nam	18,831	11,655	23,205	9,627	59,014	10,045
Quang Ngai	34,671	11,174	22,009	8,569	60,303	12,324
Quang Tin	11,050	9,738	19,148	6,211	30,247	8,084
Quang Tri	20,723	5,354	19,162	3,800	50,013	4,995
Thua Thien	19,286	6,204	48,919	4,831	74,442	5,897
II CORPS:	117,979	92,616	136,992	66,793	307,274	71,330
Binh Dinh	25,117	31,369	43,119	19,564	105,514	22,904
Binh Thuan	7,246	6,359	13,974	6,307	37,759	7,081
Darlac	7,517	9,113	7,347	3,896	14,024	5,758
Khanh Hoa	15,269	8,088	12,704	10,580	39,760	9,158
Kontum	7,200	13,369	3,972	2,049	7,621	4,012
Lam Dong	1,670	2,156	3,726	900	3,775	1,175
Ninh Thuan	14,683	3,574	9,033	3,942	26,442	3,906
Quang Duc	3,746	895	2,657	393	2,378	673
Phu Bon	994	2,552	3,405	1,643	7,714	2,019
Phu Yen	9,345	5,888	20,459	9,836	43,039	7,069
Pleiku	13,668	5,553	9,932	4,421	13,115	5,507
Tuyen Duc	11,524	3,700	6,664	3,262	6,133	2,068
III CORPS:	148,547	112,126	113,176	75,543	162,339	98,030
Gia Dinh	47,165	33,294	29,818	23,082	56,599	32,625
Bien Hoa	20,170	23,097	11,894	8,347	17,326	12,051
Binh Duong	11,904	8,842	12,320	9,327	16,614	10,898
Binh Long	2,142	3,590	3,233	2,005	5,606	2,468
Binh Tuy	4,315	1,366	2,740	755	9,364	1,202
Hau Nghia	8,437	7,424	13,056	6,381	10,626	8,283
Long An	10,713	10,112	13,110	9,059	14,842	10,521
Long Khanh	7,612	6,505	5,747	3,332	6,170	3,430
Phuoc Long	1,443	3,827	3,854	1,842	4,483	2,140
Phuoc Tuy	5,140	5,041	6,021	4,017	8,090	3,802
Tay Ninh	29,506	9,028	11,383	7,396	12,419	10,612
IV CORPS:	160,919	130,751	187,003	234,741	215,474	142,344
An Giang	17,795	9,384	8,533	41,722	19,189	8,915
An Xuyen	5,611	3,980	12,590	7,392	6,353	4,393
Ba Xuyen	7,270	8,311	11,396	6,092	12,840	10,771
Bac Lieu	6,202	5,222	9,608	6,170	12,752	7,830
Chau Doc	14,832	10,560	11,370	49,288	15,867	10,602
Chuong Thien	6,162	6,427	8,268	3,667	7,569	6,252
Dinh Tuong	15,718	12,311	19,104	11,970	20,230	14,429
Go Cong	7,137	5,375	8,188	4,778	11,524	7,016
Kien Giang	6,819	12,574	9,348	8,688	11,427	8,488
Kien Hoa	17,018	13,888	20,797	14,565	24,811	16,454
Kien Phong	12,052	6,829	10,799	26,071	13,544	8,004
Kien Tuong	2,865	1,541	2,884	1,338	2,682	1,676
Phong Dinh	11,715	8,665	14,377	13,279	15,926	10,954
Sa Dec	6,934	5,173	9,027	21,621	11,365	6,853
Vinh Binh	8,516	11,005	18,181	7,820	16,248	9,712
Vinh Long	14,273	9,506	12,533	10,280	13,147	9,995
TALS	592,330	430,641	629,488	449,674	1,148,073	398,168

UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, AUGUST 30, 1970
RESULTS FOR ALL LISTS BY PROVINCE

	Lai (List 13)	Bang (List 14)	Mrs.Dai (List 15)	Hy (List 16)
CAPITAL:				
Saigon	37,464	45,510	50,420	20,604
AUTONOMOUS CITIES:	17,908	45,465	35,377	12,044
Vung Tau	2,937	3,777	4,085	1,785
Dalat	1,940	3,221	3,023	1,127
Cam Ranh	2,193	4,818	3,332	1,839
Hue	1,711	8,636	4,810	1,424
Danang	9,127	25,013	20,127	5,869
I CORPS:	54,184	103,588	71,394	47,023
Quang Nam	11,060	22,155	13,857	11,378
Quang Ngai	20,350	29,468	24,960	15,947
Quang Tin	9,170	16,019	8,149	6,631
Quang Tri	6,524	12,988	8,986	5,826
Thua Thien	7,080	22,958	15,442	7,241
II CORPS:	86,619	135,967	100,292	105,992
Binh Dinh	35,764	45,131	30,679	27,261
Binh Thuan	10,214	18,519	14,188	7,157
Darlac	3,925	7,218	7,735	16,896
Khanh Hoa	10,989	18,628	15,061	8,748
Kontum	2,982	3,387	3,113	9,665
Lam Dong	760	1,442	1,240	884
Ninh Thuan	4,689	9,796	5,206	4,407
Quang Duc	589	802	841	659
Phu Bon	1,490	4,298	2,137	6,747
Phu Yen	8,097	15,826	12,190	7,919
Pleiku	5,438	8,371	5,740	14,003
Tuyen Duc	1,682	2,549	2,162	1,646
III CORPS:	119,771	118,276	109,211	93,528
Gia Dinh	36,500	38,212	37,490	30,627
Bien Hoa	13,623	14,094	12,000	10,709
Binh Duong	12,712	13,455	12,513	9,583
Binh Long	2,665	3,437	2,911	3,648
Binh Tuy	2,297	2,926	1,511	4,787
Hau Nghia	12,729	9,736	7,872	6,629
Long An	16,088	13,489	12,568	10,157
Long Khanh	4,596	4,241	3,609	2,351
Phuoc Long	1,468	2,416	1,741	3,484
Phuoc Tuy	4,997	5,217	5,047	3,752
Tay Ninh	12,096	11,053	11,949	7,801
IV CORPS:	174,782	163,771	166,810	139,790
An Giang	10,109	8,695	10,019	5,648
An Xuyen	4,987	4,418	3,938	3,229
Ba Xuyen	12,993	11,989	14,456	13,968
Bac Lieu	10,745	9,018	10,879	7,896
Chau Doc	13,003	11,029	11,378	7,792
Chuong Thien	7,676	6,187	8,073	10,224
Dinh Tuong	16,098	16,157	15,206	14,549
Go Cong	7,017	7,669	6,626	5,709
Kien Giang	12,859	9,691	17,439	7,079
Kien Hoa	19,872	22,283	18,659	21,615
Kien Phong	8,882	8,540	6,289	5,489
Kien Tuong	1,633	1,763	1,319	1,195
Phong Dinh	14,261	13,824	13,905	10,080
Sa Dec	8,713	7,675	7,033	7,626
Vinh Binh	10,032	13,543	12,123	10,093
Vinh Long	14,902	11,290	9,468	7,598
TOTALS	502,435	605,939	533,034	419,162

UPPER HOUSE ELECTION, AUGUST 30, 1970
VOTER TURNOUT BY PROVINCE

		TOTAL BALLOTS	TOTAL VOTERS	VOTERS AS PERCENT OF THOSE ELIGIBLE
CAPITAL:	Saigon	794,022	349,763	58
AUTONOMOUS CITIES:		478,281	214,808	60.4
	Vung Tau	67,490	26,879	69.1
	Dalat	46,872	20,696	52.8
	Cam Ranh	57,298	25,454	70
	Hue	73,915	39,161	58.1
	Danang	232,706	102,618	66.5
I CORPS:		1,369,088	635,786	70.5
	Quang Nam	288,110	136,266	73.8
	Quang Ngai	353,369	155,782	64.5
	Quang Tin	275,635	108,308	77.5
	Quang Tri	181,303	94,177	72.8
	Thua Thien	270,671	141,253	72.2
II CORPS:		1,918,837	831,828	71.3
	Binh Dinh	593,275	256,390	78
	Binh Thuan	199,128	83,905	75.9
	Darlac	168,071	65,367	78
	Khanh Hoa	216,117	103,103	58.8
	Kontum	105,856	40,254	77.06
	Lam Dong	51,340	21,740	68.2
	Ninh Thuan	125,128	59,930	77.9
	Quang Duc	29,116	11,592	82.7
	Phu Bon	47,186	21,222	73
	Phu Yen	183,985	84,858	68
	Pleiku	128,182	53,889	60
	Tuyen Duc	71,453	29,578	69.2
III CORPS:		2,085,533	869,383	59.3
	Gia Dinh	675,676	286,872	49.6
	Bien Hoa	273,407	108,292	55.4
	Binh Duong	192,544	79,062	62.8
	Binh Long	55,073	23,346	69.3
	Binh Tuy	55,526	23,166	77.5
	Hau Nghia	150,517	62,519	65.4
	Long An	229,492	97,335	76.9
	Long Khanh	98,334	39,784	56.2
	Phuoc Long	50,567	19,264	85.2
	Phuoc Tuy	92,267	37,507	75.4
	Tay Ninh	212,130	92,236	65
IV CORPS:		3,169.611	1,399,571	66.4
	An Giang	270.813	136,354	56.1
	An Xuyen	112,049	89,604	64.5
	Ba Xuyen	224,440	45,064	69.2
	Bac Lieu	133,925	58,708	57.7
	Chau Doc	283,726	145,130	72.8
	Chuong Thien	125,465	49,083	73.7
	Dinh Tuong	274,080	110,639	61.2
	Go Cong	129,309	54,529	78.4
	Kien Giang	194,214	86,581	62.4
	Kien Hoa	313,761	120,615	64.6
	Kien Phong	183,370	94,013	74.2
	Kien Tuong	29,256	12,109	70.5
	Phong Dinh	212,732	90,618	54.3
	Sa Dec	170,145	75,828	67.6
	Vinh Binh	200,557	94,229	76.4
	Vinh Long	311,769	136,467	74.3
NATIONWIDE		9,815,372	4,301,139	65.7

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION EA-20

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SAIGON 15497

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN ONLY 15497 VICE 15489)

Saigon 15497 9/23/70

SAIGON VERNACULAR PRESS IN PAST THREE DAYS CARRIED STORIES THAT AMBASSADOR BUNKER AND AMERICAN EMBASSY A E SUPPORTING CERTAIN POSSIBLE CANDIDATES IN 1971 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. GIVEN THE COMPLETE LACK OF FOUNDATION FOR THESE STORIES AND THE CAPRICIOUS AND IRRESPONSIBLE NATURE OF VERNACULAR PRESS HERE, WE DECIDED TO MAKE OUR POSITION A MATTER OF RECORD.

THE FOLLOWING WILL APPEAR IN THE VIETNAMESE EDITION OF THE VIETNAME PRESS BULLETIN TOMORROW. SAIGON RADIO AND TV WILL PICK UP AND CARRY AS ROUTINE NEWS ITEM.

TEXT OF VIETNAME PRESS ITEM FOLLOWS:

"AMERICAN EMBASSY STATEMENT ON VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS.
"SAIGON, SEPTEMBER 24 (VP)--THE VIETNAM PRESS POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT TODAY REQUESTED CLARIFICATION FROM THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ABOUT RECENT STORIES IN THE SAIGON PRESS ALLEGING SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC PERSONS IN THE 1971 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. SOME SAIGON NEWSPAPERS IN THE PAST DAYS REPORTED THAT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR SUPPORTS PRESIDENT THIEU; OTHER SAIGON PAPERS SUGGESTED THAT THE AMBASSADOR SUPPORTS RETIRED GENERAL DUONG VAN MINH; SOME PAPERS INDICATED THAT THE AMBASSADOR FAVORS ICE PRESIDENT KY.

"THE AMERICAN EMBASSY SPOKESMAN STATED THAT AMBASSADOR BUNKER HAD NOT MADE ANY STATEMENT IN PUBLIC OR PRI TE WHICH COULD BE IN

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